

Volume 95, Number 3

Winter 1995



THE KEYNOTER



The Caning of Sumner

John L. Lewis: A Thundering Voice

Thomas Nast • Will Rogers • Garfield & Arthur • Teapot Dome

Editor's Message

I remember first seeing a print of the caning of Sumner in my high school history book. It's the pro-Sumner print on page 28 of this issue, just the thing to impress a fourteen year old studying at a Maryland boarding school. Later, as an active Republican, I used it as a punchline. When discovering my political allegiance, progressive-type friends would ask incredulously, "How can *you* be a Republican?"

I would draw myself up in a caricature of wounded dignity and reply, "I have never forgiven the Democrats for the caning of Sumner." The result was often a wonderful conversation.

This issue also pays tribute to Thomas Nast, America's greatest political cartoonist. The article about him is brief. As in life, it is best to let his art speak for itself. Perhaps we can run a more complete story on Nast if readers are interested. Someday I will find a reason to run the print of his 1872 cartoon showing Horace Greeley bargaining with Satan. In terms of powerful political image making, it doesn't come much better than that.



Michael Kelly
Editor

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Membership Information: applications may be obtained by writing to the Secretary-Treasurer at: P.O. Box 340339, San Antonio, TX 78234, Telephone: (210) 945-2811.

APIC NEWSLETTER AND CALENDAR OF EVENTS: Harvey Goldberg, Editor, P.O. Box 922, Clark, NJ 07066.



All correspondence should be addressed to:
Editor
Michael Kelly
24669 W. Ten Mile Road (#3)
Southfield, MI 48034

Managing Editor
Joe Hayes

Contributing Editors
Robert Fratkan
David Frent
John Pendergrass
Robert Rouse

Museum Associates
Edith Mayo
Edmund B. Sullivan

Contributors
Kathleen Benson
Liz Clare
Harvey Goldberg
Stephen Koval
Marie Curial Menefee
Shelley Nohowel
Glenn Soden

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THE APIC KEYNOTER

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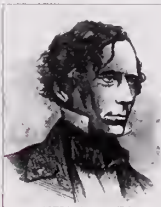
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Covers: *Front:* Thomas Nast cartoon portraying Charles Sumner as failing to turn his oratorical powers on U.S. Grant (Harper's Weekly, June 22, 1872). Black and white line print. *Back:* The cover of the June 27,1938 issue of Father Coughlin's Social Justice picturing John L. Lewis as the embodiment of evil. Black and bright green on white.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE



Franklin Pierce, "Young Hickory of the Granite Hills," is profiled. He was the youngest man ever elected president until his fellow New England Democrat, John Kennedy, more than a century later. We'll also look at some interesting aspects of JFK and Andrew Jackson.



A THUNDERING VOICE

By Liz Clare

In 1933, Franklin Roosevelt was not the only new leader to challenge the Great Depression. Another was John L. Lewis, a titanic figure in the history of the American labor movement. He would be both ally and enemy to FDR. The *New York Times* once said of Lewis: "With the exception of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, there were few in those years who exerted more influence in shaping the economic face of the United States."

Lewis, born in 1880 in Lucas, Iowa, would become one of the most recognizable figures of the 20th century. A huge man, his bulldog face and bristling eyebrows were matched by his colorful language and violent temper. Lewis' ego matched his eloquence. He once said, "He who tooteth not his own horn, the same shall not be tooted."

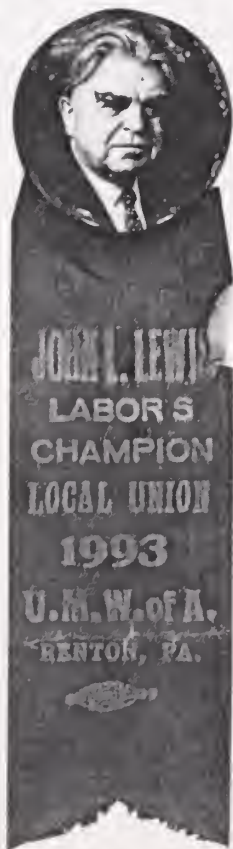
Lewis spent his early life in the coal mines. In 1907, he was elected president of his local chapter of the United Mine Workers. Climbing through the ranks, by 1920 he was union president.

Turmoil in the industry caused the UMW to lose over 80 percent of its membership in the 1920s. But in 1933, opportunity knocked on Lewis' door with the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which guaranteed

labor the right to organize and engage in collective bargaining. Within three months, Lewis had signed up 92 percent of the nation's miners.

With his new-found strength, Lewis won election to the board of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the umbrella group for all of the nation's unions. Lewis used his influence to press for organization of millions of unskilled workers in the industries of mass production. The conservative AFL balked, and in 1935 Lewis bolted to form the Committee of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Financed largely by the UMW, the CIO led the movement that brought unions to the nation's major industries.

At first, Lewis was a staunch ally of President Roosevelt. In fact, the UMW helped draft the NIRA section that guaranteed the right to organize. Lewis served on the labor board of the NRA and the National Industrial Recovery Board. In 1935 he worked to secure support for the National Labor Relations Act (commonly called the Wagner Act) and even threatened a strike to ensure passage of a coal stabilization bill. In 1936, Lewis raised over half a million dollars for Roosevelt's re-election. FDR called Lewis, "a man whom I respect, a man of honor, intelligence, and good will."



Phillip Murray and John L. Lewis rose through the ranks of the United Mine Workers together. Lewis was the first president of the CIO. Murray succeeded him in 1940.



John L. Lewis worked toward many goals, including greater safety in mines. In 1957 he soberly inspected the results of an Illinois mine disaster.

The allies became enemies during FDR's second term. Roosevelt remained neutral during the CIO's big strikes of the steel industry and General Motors. Disgusted with the bickering between Lewis and the steel captains, FDR voiced, "a plague on both your houses." Lewis felt betrayed. In typical fashion, he roared, "It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table to curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace." Increasingly, Roosevelt and Lewis clashed—over AFL-CIO unification, over labor-management relations, over foreign policy, and especially over Roosevelt's decision to seek a third term.

In 1940, Lewis sent signals to the Roosevelt administration that he would be placated only by becoming Roosevelt's vice-presidential nominee. Rebuffed, he lashed out, first considering a bid for the White House himself, then attacking Roosevelt and endorsing his opponent, Wendell Willkie. Lewis said that he would take Roosevelt's re-election as a vote of no-confidence in his leadership of the CIO.

True to his word, Lewis resigned after FDR's landslide reelection. Two years later, he led the UMW out of the CIO. Lewis won wage increases but few friends with several wartime strikes. These contributed greatly to restrictions on unionism passed during and after the war. Nevertheless, the old lion remained extremely popular with his miners. He once told them, "I have pleaded your case—not in the quavering tones of a feeble mendicant asking alms but in the thundering voice of a captain of a mighty host, demanding the rights to which free men are entitled."

Lewis retained his leadership of the union until he retired in 1960. He died in 1969. ★



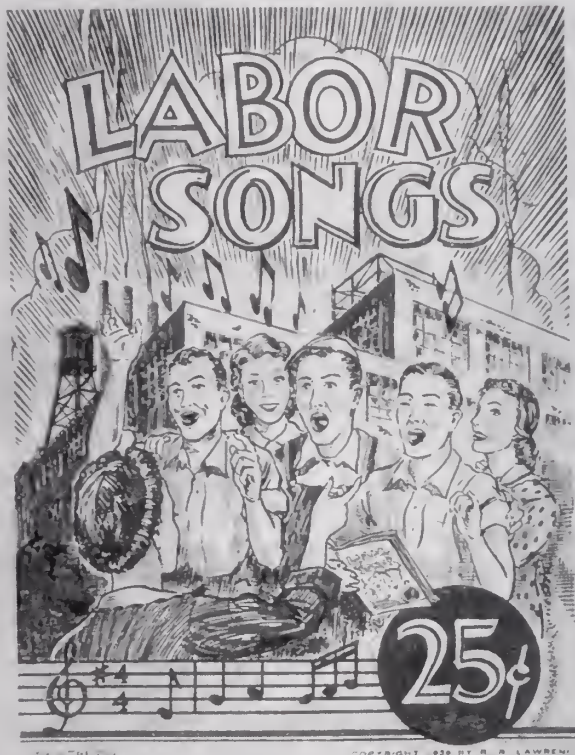
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IN APPROVAL OF LABOR SONGS



A singing army is a winning army, and a singing labor movement cannot be defeated. Songs can express sorrow as well as triumph, but the fact that a man sings shows that his spirit is still free and yearning, and such a spirit will not submit to servitude. When hundreds of men and women in a labor union sing together, their individual longing for dignity and freedom are bound into an irresistible force. Workers who hesitate are swept into the movement, and before all these determined

marchers, united by their purpose and their singing, the citadels of oppression crumble and surrender.

JOHN L. LEWIS

President, United Mine Workers of America
President, Congress of Industrial Organizations

The poet may have been somewhat extravagant when he said, "Let me write the nation's songs; let others write its laws." But it is no great exaggeration to say that songs have played a vital part in the upward climb of humanity. Especially is this true about labor songs, which have expressed not only the areas of an aspiring labor movement but have also been properly used as a rallying cry to maintain discipline and high spirits in great moments of struggle.

SIDNEY HILLMAN

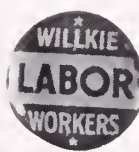
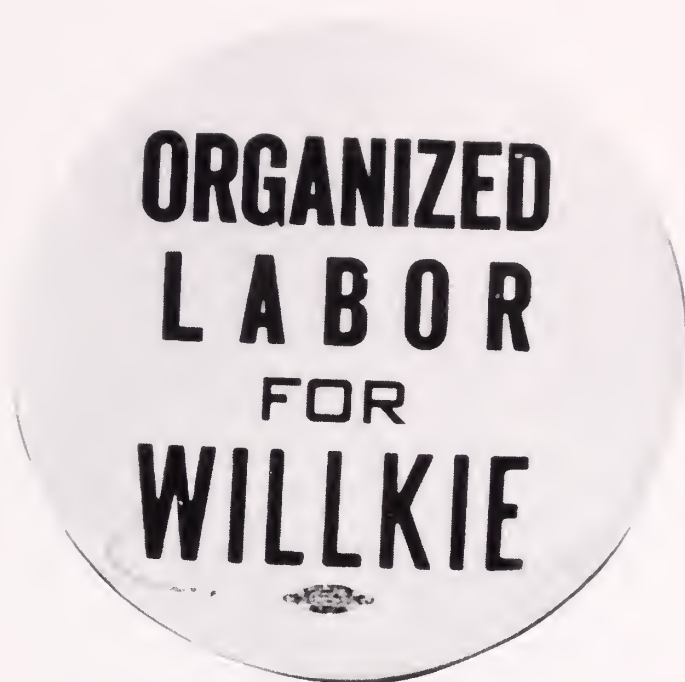
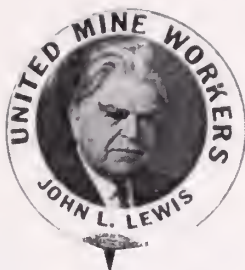
President, American Textile Clothing Workers of America
General Executive Council, Textile Workers Union of America
President, American Federation of Textile Organisations

Labor songs are part of the folk music of America. They are the natural expression of men and women bound together in sacrifice and struggle, in a common cause. Labor songs, in these ways, belong to the pioneer literature of our country. More, they are weapons forged by workers to help bring victory. This collection of songs should be in the hands of every worker in the country.

EMIL RIEVE

General President, Textile Workers Union of America
President, American Federation of Hosiery Workers

John L. Lewis's leadership went far beyond the mine workers union. He was instrumental in the success of many unions, including the United Auto Workers.



A range of Lewis inspired buttons; he put labor's clout behind FDR but couldn't bring it with him when he backed Wilkie in 1940.

POPULARLY AND UNOFFICIALLY PRESIDENT

By Glenn W. Soden

"Everything is changing. People are taking the comedians seriously and the politicians as a joke." - Will Rogers

He won the personal friendship of most of the Presidents of his time from Theodore Roosevelt to Franklin Roosevelt. Although he carefully avoided partisanship, he reported "it's funnier to be a Democrat." Therefore, regarding his political affiliation he said, "I am not a member of any organized party—I am a Democrat."

Will Rogers caught the notice of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt when Will first attempted jokes in vaudeville about personalities and national affairs. Will's wife Betty had suggested that Will "talk about what I read in the papers every day." In monologues on stage he began to specialize in political comment as a way to fill in during his roping demonstrations. One of his early targets was Woodrow Wilson.

At the Friars Club of New York in 1915, President Wilson attended. Wilson told his friends it was the best satire pulled on him. Will called it his "proudest and most successful night," saying, "I don't think any person met him across the footlights in exactly the personal way that I did. Every other performer did before him exactly what they had done before many audiences, but I gave a great deal of time and thought to an Act for him, most of which would never be used again and had never been used before."

Coolidge and Franklin Roosevelt became two of Will Rogers favorite subjects. On Calvin Coolidge, "Coolidge... either does one of two things: he does what nobody thinks he will do, or he won't do nothing. Generally the latter." Regarding Franklin Roosevelt, Will reported in a September, 1932 introduction of the candidate, "Now, I don't want you to think that I am overawed by being asked to introduce you, I'm not. I'm broadminded that way and will introduce anybody. This introduction may have lacked logic, and particularly floweriness, but you must remember you're only a candidate yet. Come back when you are President and I will do better. I am wasting no oratory on a mere prospect."

During the Harding Administration Will began a weekly newspaper article. Due to the interest Will's articles attracted he was requested to cover both national conventions through daily dispatches during the summer of 1924. He didn't miss a major party National Convention during the next twelve years. As his wife, Betty, records, "His excuse for going was, of course, business—he was paid to cover them for the newspapers—and he would insist that they were terrible ordeals... But nothing could have kept him away from one."

Betty Rogers wrote that "Will refused to consider himself a 'public figure.' He was irritated and embarrassed by the various drives to run him for office."

During the 1924 Democratic Convention two Arizona delegates with half a vote each, cast them for Will Rogers.



Will admitted he had never heard of the men before, but said he had heard of Arizona. In his dispatch from the Convention, Will thanked the delegates for their "unwavering support during the entire fifteen minutes which they struck so staunchly by me." Will Rogers had agreed to cover the Democratic Convention for a flat fee and joked that during the nominations of 60 candidates from June 24 to July 9, he spent more in taxi fees than he was paid to cover the Convention, and that the Convention had become his life's work. Will received scattered write-in votes during the general election. One congressman, Everett B. Howard, even declared on the floor of the House of Representatives, "Rogers is a statesman, experienced, courageous, safe, and sound, and offers excellent material for the Presidency."

On December 2, 1926 Will took the oath of office and made his inaugural address while a crowd roared with laughter as he assumed the position of honorary mayor of Beverly Hills. For the next two years he pretended to be the political boss of the motion picture colony.

In January, 1928 Will assumed "unofficial presidential duties" when he impersonated President Calvin Coolidge on a national radio hookup by presenting a tongue in cheek "message" on the State of the Union. "I am proud to report that the condition of the country as a whole is prosperous... That is, it's prosperous for a Hole... There is not a 'hole' lot of doubt about that..." Will was a better mimic than he had envisioned and to his disbelief many people across the country thought Coolidge was talking. Will sent the President a note of apology acknowledging the broadcast was meant in fun. The President responded, "I thought the matter of rather small consequence myself, though the office was informed from several sources that I had been on the air."

February 2, 1928 Will provided an apt summary of his reflections on his role in politics. He wrote in a dispatch from Beverly Hills, "There was a piece in the paper this morning where somebody back home was seriously proposing me for President. Now when that was done as a joke it was all right, but when it's done seriously it's just pathetic. We are used to having everybody named as Presidential candidates, but the country hasn't quite got to the professional comedian stage."

"There is no inducement that would make me foolish enough to run for any political office. I want to be on the

outside where I can be friends and joke about all of them, even the President."

Later in 1928, however, Will was approached by Life magazine to debut as an unofficial Presidential candidate. Life announced, two weeks prior to the Republican Convention, that it was sponsoring the Anti-Bunk party with its candidate Will Rogers. Thousands of buttons were distributed displaying a caricature of Will with the slogan "He chews to run." The campaign was the brain child of editor Robert E. Sherwood, later a ghostwriter for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Sherwood suggested Will was the first Presidential candidate who was intentionally funny.

Rogers reported in his acceptance of the nomination in Life, "Your offer struck me like what the better fed English authors call 'a bolt from the Blue.' It leaves me dazed, and if I can stay dazed I ought to make a splendid Candidate."

"You know it don't take near as good a man to be Candidate as it does to hold the office. That's why we wisely defeat more than we elect."

His platform was brief: "Whatever the other fellow won't do, we will." His one political promise: "If elected I absolutely and positively agree to resign." Will lost the election by vote, but not by popularity.

Herbert Hoover was elected President in 1928. The editors of Life concluded, however, that Will Rogers was the unanimous, if unofficial, choice of what they called the Great Silent Vote. In a telegram to Will on election night the editors wired: "All you know is what you read in the papers, so you probably haven't heard that you were elected President by the Great Silent Vote of this nation. No one except us knew that this vote existed—even the voters themselves were ignorant of it; no one except us knew that it went unanimously for you. The newspapers may say that the other candidates piled up millions of votes, but don't let that worry you. You're in."

At the 1932 Democratic Convention Will Rogers was called upon to address the delegates during the dead hours while the platform committee met. He compli-

mented Republicans on nominating Hoover, "They did the best they could with what little they had." He asked for a promise from the delegates gathered, "No matter who is nominated, don't go home and act like Democrats. Go home and act like he was the man you came to see nominated. Don't say he is the weakest man you could have nominated. If he lives until November, he is in!" Heywood Broun, a widely read newspaper columnist, commented on Will Rogers' remarks: "It seems a little ironical that the same Convention which thinks Will Rogers is a clown accepts Huey Long as a Statesman."

During early balloting Will received twenty-two votes announced by former Oklahoma Governor "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, as "that sterling citizen, that wise philosopher, that great heart, that favorite son of Oklahoma." As he reflected on the fickle nature of the votes, "Politics ain't on the level. I was only in 'em for an hour but in that short space of time somebody stole 22 votes from me. I was sitting there in the press stand asleep and wasn't bothering a soul when they woke me up and said Oklahoma had started me on the way to the White House with 22 votes. I thought to myself, well, there is no use going there this late in the morning, so I dropped off to sleep again, and that's when somebody touched me for my whole roll, took the whole 22 votes, didn't even leave me a vote to get breakfast on."

Will's wife Betty wrote in her story, told after Will's untimely death, that, "All this was good-natured fun. But when the idea was seriously advanced, and reports came out that Will was taking it seriously, that was something else again. Several times he was earnestly urged to become a candidate for Governor of Oklahoma. I remember well a committee that called on us in Beverly Hills and tried to persuade him to run, in California, for Senator on the Democratic ticket. Of course he would have nothing to do with such offers. And when it was suggested that he might actually run for President, Will was outraged."

In 1931 he wrote, "Will you do me one favor, if you see or hear of anybody proposing my name for any political office will you maim said party and send me the bill?"

According to his biographer Donald Day, "For the rest of his life Will was to be the 'unofficial' President of the United States."★

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FOR THE NEWER COLLECTOR



WHAT DOES THAT MEAN?

By Harvey Goldberg

How often do collectors look over the wares at a bourse or flea market and take for granted the label on an item connecting it to a particular candidate - even though the slogan or phrase is unfamiliar and without meaning? How often have you looked at a button after reading that slogan or phrase on the pin and asked yourself, "What in the world are they talking about?" All too often the meaning of various issues or slogans are lost with the passage of time. Slogans or 'hot issues' of fifty years or more ago no longer have much meaning to most of us. Likewise, the catchwords from campaigns of the '60s and '70s often require some deep thought to bring back the stories of their origin. For some of us, the word pins from a dozen, eight or even six years ago have already faded into the background.

NOTE: What we would like to do with this series in the *KEYNOTER* is to refresh your memories by highlighting some of the candidate and campaign-related slogan pins that we see all the time but may know less well than we'd like to admit. If you have any pins with mysterious phrases, send along a Xerox and we'll see what can be done to help identify them. (Of course if you know the candidate or campaign it would be most helpful. Contact me at PO Box 922, Clark NJ 07066 or phone (908) 382-4652 evenings.



This paper hanger urges voters to remember the Teapot Dome Scandal. The teapot theme inspired several handsome buttons, including a hopeful item from the 1924 Democratic Convention that picked Davis over New York Governor Al Smith.



TEMPEST IN A TEAPOT

By Harvey Goldberg



Most people today have become used to scandal. The newspapers are full of endless varieties of wrong-doing in government as well as many other phases of our lives. But three quarters of a century ago scandal was the exception rather than the rule. That was, until the brief tenure of the Harding Administration. To this day students of political history equate the administration of our twenty-ninth president with corruption.

Among the unscrupulous activities during the two plus years that Warren G. Harding was in office, one in particular achieved the level of "an aristocrat among scandals." This dealt with oil leasing cases and resulted in a lengthy Senate investigation involving hundreds of witnesses. When hearings began in October 1923, few newspapers gave more than token coverage. The investigation, under the guidance of Senator Thomas Walsh (D-Montana), was expected to be dull, tedious, and brief. But as the months passed and the depth of the scandal unwound, an intense public interest grew. "The taint of oil and corruption," said the *New York Times*, "stained both parties, caused at least three cabinet-level resignations, inspired several Supreme Court decisions, and made the name **Teapot Dome** synonymous with the seamy side of American politics." What was the Teapot Dome and its surrounding scandal and why was it so controversial?

Teapot Dome was a tract of oil-rich land in Wyoming which had been set aside by President Wilson, under the auspices of the Department of the Navy, to be used exclusively by the Navy. There were similar tracts of land in California. The Teapot Dome was officially known as Naval Oil Reserve Number Three. For many years, oilmen and developers had hoped to lease parts of the naval oil reserves. Conservationists within and outside the government felt this oil should be held in reserve for national emergencies.

After a dispute within the Wilson cabinet over leasing of the oil reserves, a special amendment was pushed through the Congress in 1920, giving the Secretary of the Navy complete control of these oil reserves. He was entrusted to "conserve, develop, and operate the oil reserves directly". Prior to this the Department of the Interior was in control. The pro-conservationist Secretary of the Navy at the time was Josephus Daniels. With the departure of the Wilson administration, however, Daniels was replaced by Harding nominee Edwin Denby. Interior Secretary Albert Fall, Jr. was also of dubious qualification. Both men conspired to have the oil reserves placed back under control of the Department of the Interior. President Harding signed an executive order to this effect in May, 1921. The transfer received little public attention, although some conservationists were immediately aware of the implications.

Using a previously limited leasing allowance, Secretary Fall leased part of Naval Reserve Number One (Elk Hills, California) to Edward Doheny, head of Pan-American Petroleum Company. These leases were the result of private

behind-the-door dealings. Following quickly on the heels of this lease came the news that all of the Teapot Dome had been leased to Harry F. Sinclair of Mammoth Oil Company. Still, there was little public attention focused on these events until Senator LaFollette (Wisc.) called for an investigation by the Senate Committee on Public Lands. President Harding wrote to the committee that "the oil policy and all subsequent acts have at all times had my entire approval."

As the hearings progressed, their scope expanded. Among the witnesses called before the Committee were former Navy Secretary Josephus Daniels and Assistant Secretary Franklin Roosevelt. Also called to testify were Attorney General Harry Daugherty and officers of the Departments of the Navy, Justice, and Interior. More and more, the character of Albert Fall came to light, exposing a lengthy series of corrupt and personally profitable activities: bribery, lies and deceit, illegal removal and private sale of oil reserves.

By the time the investigation began, Calvin Coolidge had become president on Harding's death. President Coolidge refused to intervene in any manner and declared that any wrongdoing should be decided in the courts. But the committee was not yet finished with its work. The taint of corruption extended to the Democrats as well. William G. McAdoo, son-in-law of President Wilson, and a leading contender for the presidential nomination in 1924, was linked to the Teapot Dome and bribery. Further testimony exonerated the former Treasury Secretary, but could not repair the damage to his reputation, removing him as a viable presidential candidate.

In March 1924 it was reported that large amounts of Sinclair Oil stock had been contributed to GOP coffers and that leases were given without competitive bidding. Various "grants" and "loans" had also been made to Secretary Fall. A report from the investigating Senate committee in June 1924 found that virtually all of the transactions surrounding the oil leasing had been corrupt. In June 1927, the Supreme Court unanimously decided that the leases on the oil reserves had been illegal, a result of the Fall-Sinclair conspiracy. Indictments were handed down for conspiracy, bribery, and illegal transfer of the oil lands. In addition, the Supreme Court decided that the "Senate had power to delegate authority to its committee to investigate and report [on] this and any [other] inquiry concerning the public domain..." It was a landmark decision that has significant impact today.

The Teapot Dome scandal had far-reaching effects. It is quite possible that it cost McAdoo the 1924 presidential nomination, giving it instead to compromise candidate John W. Davis, who promptly lost to Coolidge that November. Anti-GOP items were seen during the 1924 campaign referring to Teapot Dome. Obviously they had little effect. There are several items in 1928 which can be traced directly to this same scandal. ★

POLITICAL PHOTOS HAVE TALES TO TELL

By Stephen Koval

There has been an ongoing, dynamic relationship between photography and politics since the development of the photographic technique in the middle of the nineteenth century. Originally a cooperative and beneficial relationship to both photographer and politician, recent years have seen this association turn on issues of image versus "truth." A recent exhibit developed by the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, *American Politicians: Photographs from 1843 to 1993*, examines these topics and others in nearly 200 photographs ranging from John Quincy Adams to Bill Clinton.

Early photographs were not easily reproduced and hence saw limited distribution through media such as cartes de visite and stereographs. The poses also seem rather unusual by contemporary standards as politicians appear expressionless and mannequin-like. They seem rather as if they were sitting for a painting with the lack of spontaneity in these early efforts. However lacking the technique appears, there were even then attempts to project a certain image to the voting public. For example, in the famous photos of Abraham Lincoln, photographer Matthew Brady made a point of adjusting Lincoln's collar to make his neck seem shorter, did some retouching to smooth out Lincoln's face, and had him pose with his hand on a book to denote knowledge and education.

Also, beneath the surface, one can pick up on the feelings of the men behind their rather vacant gazes. In a

photo of Andrew Johnson from April 1865, one can see in his face the enormous task of reuniting the country in the wake of the Civil War. Ulysses Grant in his General's uniform projects a definite swagger while John Breckinridge maintains a steely gaze in photos of him as both Vice-President and General. A later series of James Garfield shows him maintaining a proper patrician air. Even behind William McKinley's enormous eyebrows and solidly serious demeanor, one can sense a hint of amusement in the Ohio gentleman at the thought of being posed.

The exhibit also delves into politics below the Presidential level as well as causes and social movements. How many recall Presidential candidate Belva Lockwood running on the Equal Rights ticket in 1884 and 1888 some 30 years before women could even vote? Another photo shows Rep. Jeanette Rankin accepting an unfurled American flag at the passage of the suffrage amendment in 1918. An interesting photo of the Radical Republican South Carolina legislature proudly shows the entrance of black Americans into electoral politics. One also learns of J. G. Phelps Stokes, the millionaire who lost an election to the New York legislature running as a Socialist. A much later image of Ed Koch wiping sweat from his brow in a 1963 Democratic District Leader vote shows that the excitement of American politics knows no time or level.



Theodore Roosevelt speaking at Grant's Tomb. Decoration Day, 1910.



Nixon victory celebration, Republican headquarters, New York, 1972.

Another interesting point made by the show is how politicians can reveal their distinct personalities even when shown in similar settings. For example, while McKinley's speaking style is clearly formal through his erect posture, Theodore Roosevelt's use of hand gestures show his animation on the podium. A later photo of William Taft makes the rotund candidate appear almost bellowing. Taft is also shown in a photo with some oversized vegetables to symbolize prosperity. Taft's opponent, Woodrow Wilson, appears in an unusual shot taken from above of his portrait being formed by 21,000 men.

Photography developed the halftoning process around the turn of the century, and we also begin to see more candid photos of politicians. Halftoning is the now familiar technique of distributing dots on a page to create shades of gray. Henceforth, political photographs could now be more widely distributed through newspapers, magazines, posters, and brochures. Like Lincoln before him, Teddy Roosevelt recognized the power of this new medium and took advantage of it. The exhibit shows TR the activist operating a steam shovel at the Panama Canal, visiting a hospital, and attending a Western potluck dinner. After all this, one can appreciate the 1908 photo of TR looking quite drawn and tired.

The boundless energy and enthusiasm of TR is made even more apparent when contrasted with a series on Calvin Coolidge. The straitlaced Coolidge looks nearly comical in scenes of him fishing in suit, hat, and waders, or wearing a ridiculous broadbrimmed hat on his 56th birthday and looking sternly down at his dog Rob Roy. Coolidge also looks out of place in a panoramic photo of him in the center of thousands of ladies at a Daughters of

the American Revolution reception.

Coolidge is also nicely contrasted with a bubbly Al Smith in photos of each wearing Indian headdresses and appearances at football games. Smith is also pictured greeting Helen Keller with a toothy grin at the New York State Commission for the Blind. An interesting series familiar to any young traveler features Smith and his wife posing for a strip of shots from a photo booth on the Atlantic City boardwalk. A final shot shows Smith's famous brown derby encased in glass at the occasion of a memorial exhibit honoring him in 1945.

Radical politics is shown in a Communist meeting in 1930 just prior to a White House demonstration. Another shows Socialist Norman Thomas being pelted in the face by eggs and tomatoes in 1938.

One of the highlights of the show are several photos of former New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia. The master politician is in his element in shots ranging from his taking an axe to illegal slot machines, climbing a fence to view park improvements, donning a subway motorman's cap, driving rivets, and even dressing up in costume as Lord Mayor for a London theatrical production. Several other shots confirm LaGuardia as a past master of the power of the image as everyman.

As the exhibit moves into the 1940s, the photographic composition takes on overtones of Hollywood movie shots. Wendell Willkie, shown in several confetti parades, stands in a moving car surrounded by onlookers, waving his straw boater, and looking like a carnival barker enticing the crowd. Harry Truman is shown playing the piano with a reclining Lauren Bacall perched upon it at a 1945 Press Club appearance. Dwight Eisenhower emanates star

power with arms outstretched toward enthusiastic ladies in a 1952 campaign photo.

Contrast this photo with an earlier one taken with Ike at home on his Abilene porch with mother Ida, looking like any other tired soldier returning from World War Two. Even more startling is an oversized portrait of Ike taken in 1964 by famed photographer Richard Avedon where every line in his face is visible. In stark contrast, an Avedon photo of Malcolm X appears blurred and menacing.

Eisenhower's two-time opponent Adlai Stevenson is shown in some seemingly unlikely poses of his own. The intellectual "egghead" Stevenson is shown calmly resting against a shady tree in a 1952 photo on his Illinois farm. Another photo shows Stevenson reading the newspaper on a Chicago commuter train on his way to work just like any other urbanite.

Moving into the 1960s, the show continues with unusual shots of John Kennedy campaigning. One shot shows only Kennedy's hands being grasped at by a frenzied crowd while another shows Jackie and JFK sitting in an Oregon diner looking like a young couple out for a weekend breakfast. Another interesting photo shows JFK grasping at Lyndon Johnson on some airplane stairs as Johnson seems to be calling out to a reporter. The fast pace of modern politics is shown comically in a later photo of Richard Nixon simultaneously shaking hands and checking his watch while on a foreign tour in 1974.

The vitality of the JFK campaign of 1960 is brought into

sharp contrast with the 1968 campaign of his brother Robert. In perhaps the most wrenching photo of the exhibit, RFK is shown immediately after being shot in an unnatural, twisted form on the ground with his almost lifeless eyes staring into space. An assassination photo of Malcolm X reveals that in death, even very different political figures share a common horror. A later photo of Ronald Reagan also reveals a clear look of distress during an assassination attempt in 1981.

Another death of different sort comes to mind in a 1977 photo of Hubert Humphrey at press conference with Jimmy Carter. The wizened look of HHH shows a man facing the peril of cancer with dignity. Carter himself appears in an unusual photo of Sam Donaldson interviewing him while standing in a Georgia pond.

A series of photos from the most recent Presidential election in 1992 shows that many of the images and themes struck by other candidates in the Golden Age of photography remain strong today. George Bush is shown receiving a ceremonial pipe from a Montana Crow Indian much like presidential candidates always have. Photos of Bill Clinton illustrate his attempts to look Presidential while still revealing the man beneath the image that has been around since the days of Lincoln.★

The catalogue for this exhibit is available for purchase in both softcover and hardback for \$22.50 and \$39.95 respectively plus shipping from: The Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53rd Street, New York, NY 10019



Washington, D.C., 1962.

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

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GREETING AND FAREWELL.—DRAWN BY T. DE THULSTROP.

Before photography came to dominate political imagery, mass printings of engravings were the most effective method of communicating political concepts. This print (not by Thomas Nast, as evident from the style) shows Columbia, a feminine symbol of the nation that has all but disappeared in modern times, greeting incoming President James Garfield and handing the laurels of honor to outgoing President Rutherford Hayes.



THE GARFIELD AND HANCOCK “DEVIL DOLLS”

By Marie Curial Menefee

In 1880, the author's father, Edward L. Curial, a jeweler living in Anoka, Minn., designed and patented a mechanical watch fob publicizing the presidential campaign being waged that year between James Abram Garfield and General Winfield Scott Hancock, a Civil War hero. Mr. Curial was a first class artist and engraver, and he designed and cut the dies for these mechanical campaign souvenirs himself. The dies were sent to a manufacturer in New York City with an initial order for 500 fobs to be finished in gold wash and nickel-plate. Curial hoped to test the market for his fobs with this small order before going into large-scale production.

The Hancock fob depicted the general in full uniform with his name across the band of his high hat; Garfield was shown in his characteristic “hands in pocket” pose; his name also was across the band of his hat. Some of the fobs were made with a moving hand, and some were made with both moving hand and a pointed tail. Pressing down the foot of the figure on a hard surface activated the moving parts hidden between the front and back facings of the fob causing them to pop out in a most undignified gesture. A few non-mechanical pins without moving parts were also produced.

The manufacturer of the watch fobs recommended to Mr. Curial that he employ street hawkers to sell these campaign trinkets so they could be demonstrated. Curial, following this advice, sent a selection of gold and nickel finished fobs to “sidewalk merchants” in various parts of the country—a hundred fobs went to a man in Philadelphia. Within a few days Mr. Curial was inundated with requests from his outlets for more fobs; many of the salesmen reported that they were literally mobbed by crowds of people wanting to buy one of his “devil dolls.”

Curial sent an urgent request for more fobs to the New York manufacturer, but unfortunately the supplier's employees were out on strike at that time and he could not fill the order. By the time the strike was settled the campaign was over, and Mr. Garfield had won the election. Since only 500 of Curial's “devil doll” fobs were made, it's quite obvious that these campaign novelties are relatively rare.

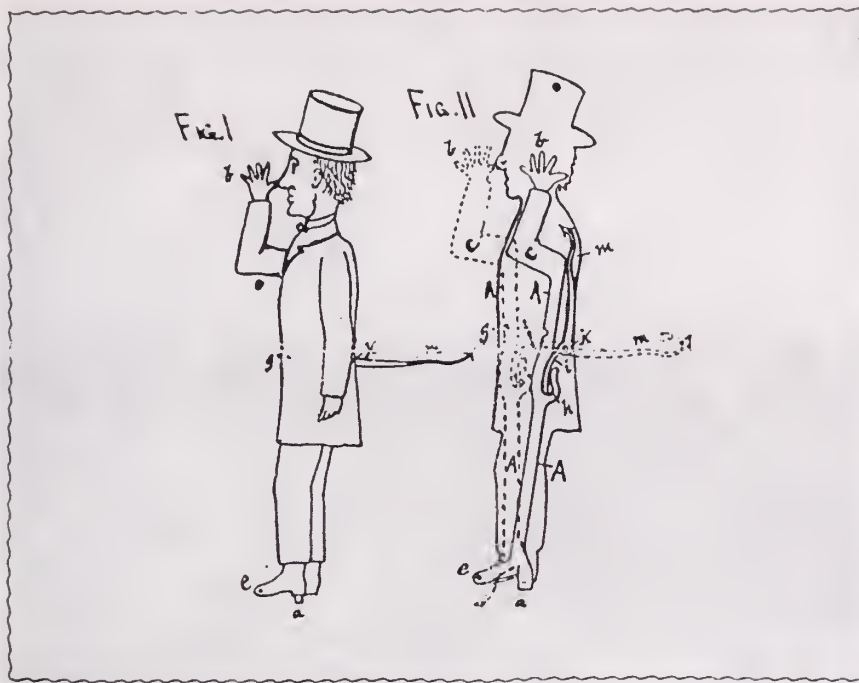
A few years later, during the Blaine-Cleveland presidential campaign of 1884, similar mechanical fobs were produced—but not by Mr. Curial. Apparently his patented idea had been adopted and used by someone else.★



Gold finished Hancock fobs. (l-r): mechanical hand: non-mechanical: mechanical hand and tail; height 1 5/8"



Gold finished Garfield fobs. (l-r): mechanical hand: non-mechanical: mechanical hand and tail; height 1 5/8"



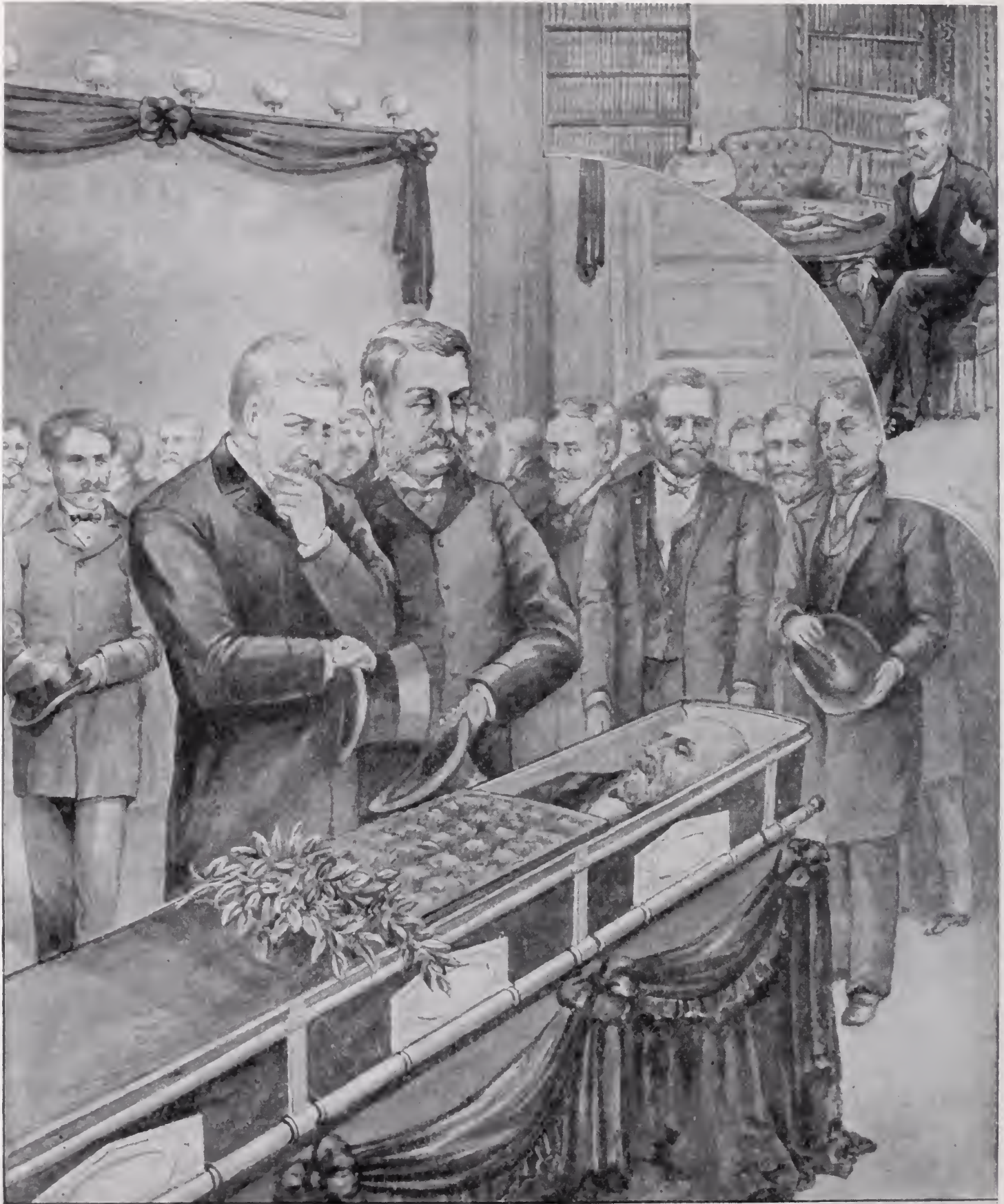
The working mechanism of E.L. Curial's fob was clearly defined in drawings (above) which accompanied his patent (No. 231,408), dated August, 24 1880.



Back view of nickel-plated non-mechanical Garfield pin, length 1 5/8".



ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD. The fatal shot was fired by lawyer-politician Charles Guiteau after he failed in his efforts to obtain the post of consul to France. There are several published drawings of this scene, each showing James G. Blaine standing next to Garfield. Blaine's presence gave him extensive public recognition, which helped him win the 1884 nomination.



BLAINE AND ARTHUR AT THE COFFIN OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

The Victorian sentiment of the era, which heightened the nation's sense of mourning, is reflected in this period print.

A CIVIL RIGHTS VICTORY IN OLD NEW YORK

A letter by Kathleen Benson

EDITOR'S NOTE: Chester A. Arthur, the "gentleman boss of New York," remains one of our more obscure presidents. Unexpectedly chosen as James Garfield's running mate in 1880 as a sop to the defeated New York machine, he became president when Garfield was killed by a frustrated office-seeker. The reason for the killing, combined with Arthur's previous leadership in the New York City machine, led observers to fear that the Arthur administration would reach new depths of corruption. Instead, he summoned unexpected personal qualities to become an honest, skilled chief executive. The following letter, reprinted from the New York Times, gives us a clue as to forces at work on the then-young Chester A. Arthur that later came to the fore.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

The daguerreotype of Chatham Street, later Park Row, looking northeast from Pearl Street, auctioned at Christie's in October depicts the site of an important event in New York City history.

At the corner of Chatham and Pearl on Sunday, July 16, 1854, Elizabeth Jennings, a 24-year-old African-American schoolteacher, attempted to board a Third Avenue Railway Company car to travel to church.

The car did not have a "Colored People Allowed in This Car" sign, and the young woman was forcibly removed from the car by the conductor, who had to call a police officer to help him. Miss Jennings sued the Third Avenue Railway Company. Representing her for the law firm of Culver, Parker & Arthur was Chester A. Arthur, the future President, who was then also 24 and a recent law school graduate.

The case came to trial on Feb. 22, 1855, and the jury took little time to decide that in accordance with a recently enacted state law, the Third Avenue Railway Company was a common carrier, bound to carry all respectable people and that "colored persons, if sober, well-behaved, and free from disease, had the same rights as others."

The victory of Miss Jennings was hailed by the city's African-American community, which celebrated the anniversary for years afterward.

In 1991 four sixth-grade girls in the Museum of the City of New York's Wednesday afternoon history club researched this event in the life of Elizabeth Jennings, whom they called the Rosa Parks of her time, and presented their play, "Elizabeth Jennings Fights for Her Rights" at the museum's first history fair.

At the fair they collected signatures on a petition asking the City Council to name one of the corners of Park Row (originally Chatham Street) and Pearl Street in honor of Elizabeth Jennings and forwarded the petitions to the City Council. Unfortunately, the Council never responded.



THE VETO.

ARTHUR (a conservative). "It would be unreasonable to destroy it, and would reflect upon the honor of the country."

Cartoonist Thomas Nast examines President Chester A. Arthur's foreign policy success.



"A HAPPY NEW-YEAR TO YOU, AND MAY YOU FILL YOUR NEW OFFICE AS SUCCESSFULLY AS YOUR OLD ONE."

The January 3, 1885 *Harper's Weekly* featured two cartoons by Nast. The first honored the incoming president, New York Governor Grover Cleveland, for his record as an honest governor. The matching Nast cartoon honored the outgoing president, Chester A. Arthur of New York, for his national record as an honest president.



"A HAPPY NEW-YEAR TO YOU, AND CONGRATULATIONS FROM ALL NATIONS."

Although he reached the White House by a fluke, Arthur surprised everyone by proving to be an effective president. The Republicans passed him over for the 1884 nomination, picking James G. Blaine instead. Blaine lost to Cleveland.



OUT-“SHINING” EVERYBODY IN HUMILIATION AT ALBANY

“I did not engage you, Vice-President ARTHUR, to do this kind of work.”



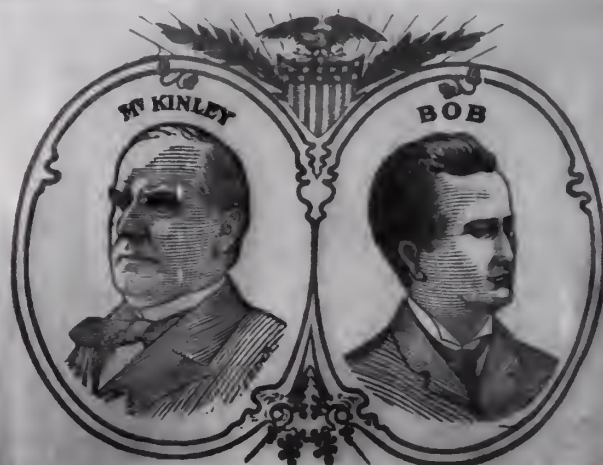
According to your cloth you've cut your coat,
O Dude of all the White House residents;
We trust that it will help you with the vote,
When next we go to nominating Presidents.

The cartoon above (not by Nast) shows President Arthur with one of his walking sticks. Arthur, a sophisticated gentleman from New York, is known as one of the most fashionable dressers ever to serve as president.

The Peoples' Choice
FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR
NEW YORK
36 ELECTORAL VOTES.
The Only Man who can carry
the State of New York.



Political canes: the McKinley-LaFollette coattail flag is hidden in a cane waiting to be waved at an opportune moment.

CANES IN THE UNITED STATES

(Illustrated Mementoes of American History 1607-1953)

Reviewed by Shelley Nohowel



Cane presented by Henry Clay in 1849.

Patrick Henry's was understated—just a simple ivory knob ringed with gold bands. George Washington's bore his family's gilded coat of arms. J. P. Morgan found his to be essential in waving off noisy journalists. Enrico Caruso's measured barely 30 inches in length, while one presented to Abraham Lincoln was nearly a foot longer.

Presidential canes, spy-camera canes, commemorative and college canes, glass canes, musical canes, celebrity canes and altogether clever canes are the subject of Catherine Dike's **Canes in the United States; Illustrated Mementoes of American History 1607-1953**. The world's undisputed authority on stylish sticks from ancient times to the 20th Century not only examines canes as social scepters, political souvenirs and fashion accoutrements, but also places canes within a thoroughly engaging chronology of American history.

Appropriately, the author's text begins with the Pueblo Indians in the early 1600s. By order of King Phillip of Spain, each tribe would elect a governor for a one year-term and present this leader with the Spanish silver-headed *vara*, or cane. This ultimate symbol of leadership was passed on to each successor, a tradition which was respectfully recognized by President Lincoln in the 1860s, as he presented each Pueblo Chief a silver-topped cane engraved with both his signature and the name of the Pueblo.

Here, as in Europe, canes originated as objects of ceremony and supremacy, though they soon evolved as an art form—from the whittlings of jailed inmates to the masterworks of Tiffany and Gorham. Among the nearly 1,000 photos assembled from museums, historical societies and private collections for **Canes in the United States**, we find handles and knobs fashioned from ivory, oak, gold, silver, glass, molded bakelite, pewter, porcelain and plastic; and in every configuration imaginable, from a reclining, rather rotund female nude to a metal peanut promoting Jimmy Carter.

As America entered the age of mass-production, canes became a preferred advertising icon. The message from one candy vending company was "Lean On Us"; while no less subtle was a cane issued for Barry Goldwater's ill-fated

CANES IN THE UNITED STATES;

Illustrated Mementoes of American History 1607-1953

By Catherine Dike

400 pages (48 in color) 1,125 photographs

Price: \$95.00 (plus \$2.50 S & H)

Publisher: Cane Curiosa Press

250 Diehlman Rd. Ladue, MO 63124

(314) 362-2916

campaign for president. This version offered a hollow plastic handle filled with water and floating gold flakes. Captioned the author: "The letters H₂O appear to assist those slow in reading the rebus."

Together with its quirky and kitsch canes, scrimshaw canes, "fake" canes, fishing pole canes, candlestick canes and yes, even secret society canes, **Canes in the United States** is the last word in *canedom*—a topic which Ms. Dike presents with as much authority as enthusiasm. It's a formidable and fascinating book that leaves most of us wondering how we ever got across the street without one!★



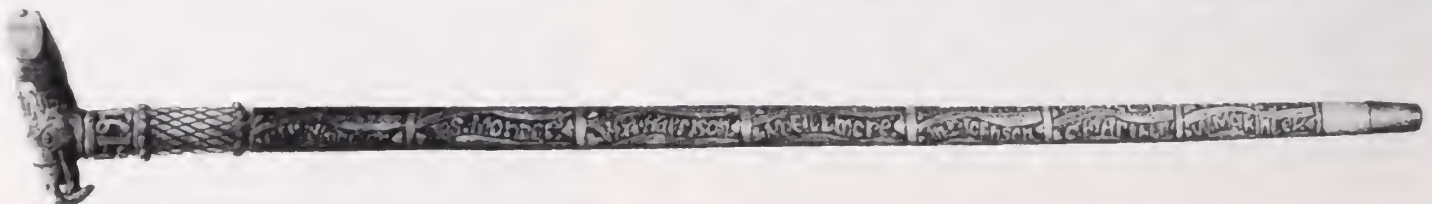
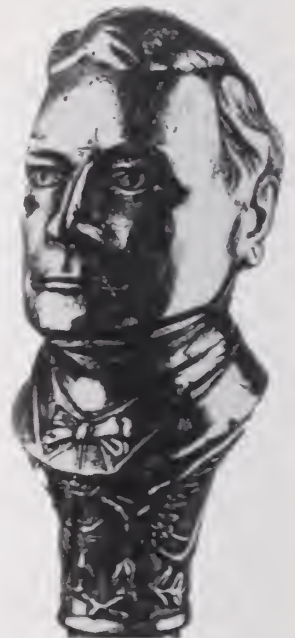
Canes often served a ceremonial function. Here Abraham Lincoln receives a presentation cane at a campaign rally.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Now living in Switzerland, American-born Catherine Dike has had a penchant for canes since 1970, and she has amassed a private collection of some 1,300 examples and a photo archives of 20,000 images. In 1982 Ms. Dike wrote, designed and printed her first book on the subject: *Les Canes a Systeme, un Monde Fabuleux et Meconnu*. One year later, as the book was being translated and published under the title *Cane Curiosa, from Gun to Gadget*, she curated an exposition of her own canes at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York. In 1988, Ms. Dike authored her second book on canes as art: *La Canne Objet d'Art*. Following several months of research in the United States during 1992, she began her most ambitious effort to date: *Canes in the United States*. Currently, she is planning a book on the ethnographical sticks of North and South American Indians, among others.



Cane featuring U.S. Grant



(Left to Right) Campaign canes featuring a Cleveland-Thurmond jugate, Rutherford B. Hayes and William Jennings Bryan. The long cane carries the name of all presidents from Washington to McKinley.



More campaign canes (clockwise from upper left); Grover Cleveland under celluloid, James Garfield, an 1892 Harrison-Reid jugate, a Roosevelt-Fairbanks jugate, a familiar Bryan button built into a cane, FDR from 1932 and a 1904 Parker-Davis jugate.

THE CANING OF SUMNER

By Michael Kelly



CHARLES SUMNER.

Perhaps no single act so sharply demonstrated the uncontrollable passions unleashed in the American Republic by the battle over slavery as did the caning of Charles Sumner. The physical assault of a Republican senator from the North by a Democratic congressman from the South—on the Senate floor itself—foreshadowed the bloody fraternal conflict that almost destroyed the young nation.

As America was drawn toward the Civil War, attempts to smooth over differences between the Slave South and the Free North were proving hopeless. The Compromise of 1850, once thought to be a triumph of diplomacy, was soon in shambles. Politicians tried to hide behind the concept of “popular sovereignty” (meaning that the people of each state and territory could choose to forbid or allow slavery as they wished) but a bloody civil war raged in the territory of Kansas over just how the popular will was to be determined.

The South had successfully established laws to forbid publication and distribution of anti-slavery material, made even its discussion illegal and won the right to arrest escaped slaves even after they had reached the Free states. No less a personage than John Quincy Adams, a former president who returned to Congress, devoted the last years of his life to battling the “gag rule” which prevented discussion of slavery even on the floor of Congress. As blood flowed in John Brown’s rebellion, on the plains of “bleeding Kansas” and from the backs of Americans of African descent, tempers flared and civility disappeared from American public life.

One of the leaders of the movement to abolish slavery (from whence came the term Abolitionist) was Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Originally a Whig, Sumner had campaigned for the Free Soil Party in 1848 and later helped to arrange a Free Soil/Democrat fusion that resulted in his election to the U.S. Senate in 1850.

With the Free Soil Party collapsing, Senator Sumner eventually threw in his lot with the new Republican Party. As the election of 1856 approached (an election which would mark both the Republicans’ first presidential campaign and Sumner’s own re-election campaign back in Massachusetts), he needed to make a mark on the public consciousness. With civil war breaking out in Kansas, Sumner chose to make a major speech advocating the admission of Kansas as a free state.

On May 19, 1856, Sumner rose on the floor of the United States Senate to denounce “The Crime Against Kansas.” It was not a spontaneous speech. He had labored long and hard over it, had copies printed in advance and would take two days to deliver it. Almost every senator (with one key exception) was in his seat to listen. An expectant crowd packed the galleries and spilled onto the Senate floor as the tall senator from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts began, “Mr. President, you are now called to redress a great transgression. Seldom in the history of nations has such a question been presented...It is the rape of a virgin territory, compelling it to the hateful embrace of slavery...”

Stephen Douglas and a few other hostile senators tried to pretend they were chatting or otherwise ignoring the abolitionist’s speech but even they soon fell into attentive silence. Sumner minced no words. He described pro-slavery settlers as “assassins and thugs.” He dismissed Douglas’ idea of “Popular Sovereignty” as having “ended in Popular Slavery.” He included personal attacks on compromisers like Douglas and even harsher attacks on pro-slavery senators such as South Carolina’s Andrew Butler, who was absent from the chamber during Sumner’s address.

Sumner’s oration overstepped the bounds of genteel discourse. He described Butler as the Don Quixote of slavery who “has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows...the harlot, Slavery.” Stephen Douglas, according to Sumner’s metaphor, was “the squire of Slavery, its very Sancho Panza, ready to do all its humiliating offices.” The Massachusetts Republican not only attacked his colleagues, he even attacked the slave states themselves, chiding South Carolina for “its shameful imbecility from Slavery.”

Douglas muttered to a colleague, "That damn fool will get himself killed by some other damn fool."

The violent passions unleashed by Sumner's words caused concern to his friends. Henry Wilson, the other Republican senator from Massachusetts, asked congressmen Schuyler Colfax and Anson Burlingame to join him in escorting Sumner home the night of the speech in case he was assaulted. Sumner dismissed their concerns. "None of that, Wilson," he told his colleague and slipped out a side door to walk home alone.

Sumner's speech had a powerful impact on the nation. The *New York Tribune* praised him, saying "Sumner has added a cubit to his stature." The poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote that the speech was "the greatest voice on the greatest subject that has been uttered." Letters of praise poured into his office from throughout the North.

The South had a somewhat different reaction. The *Washington Star* proclaimed that the "personal vilification and abuse of Senator Butler...caused a blush of shame." Stephen Douglas criticized Sumner's metaphors and "classic allusions, each one only distinguished for its lasciviousness and obscenity - each one drawn from those portions of the classics which all decent professors in respectable colleges cause to be suppressed, as unfit for decent young men to read." More bluntly, a congressman from Tennessee claimed that "Mr. Sumner ought to be knocked down and his faced jumped into."

Senator Andrew Butler may have been home in South Carolina during Sumner's speech but he had a young cousin in the House of Representatives, Democratic Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina. Brooks seethed over the insults to his family and his state. He concluded that it was his "duty to relieve Butler and avenge the insult to my state."

Brooks operated under the rigid code of conduct governing the South in his era. A Southern gentlemen would never consider taking legal action under such circumstances and to challenge Sumner to a duel would be to accord him respect as an equal gentleman. In dismissing the idea of a duel, Brooks said that "the moral tone of mind that would lead a man to become a Black Republican would make him incapable of courage." According to Southern chivalry, Brooks had to flog Sumner.

On May 22, Congressman Brooks made his way onto the floor of the Senate where he found Senator Sumner writing at his desk. Interestingly, the Massachusetts senator was busy writing his signature on copies of his "Crime Against Kansas" speech for mailing. At the time, the postage-free franking privilege was accorded members of Congress only on their personal signature. Today the signature is printed on envelopes and other material but in 1856, a congressman had to sign all such

mail by hand. Sumner was hunched over his desk, rapidly signing mail, when Preston Brooks approached that day.

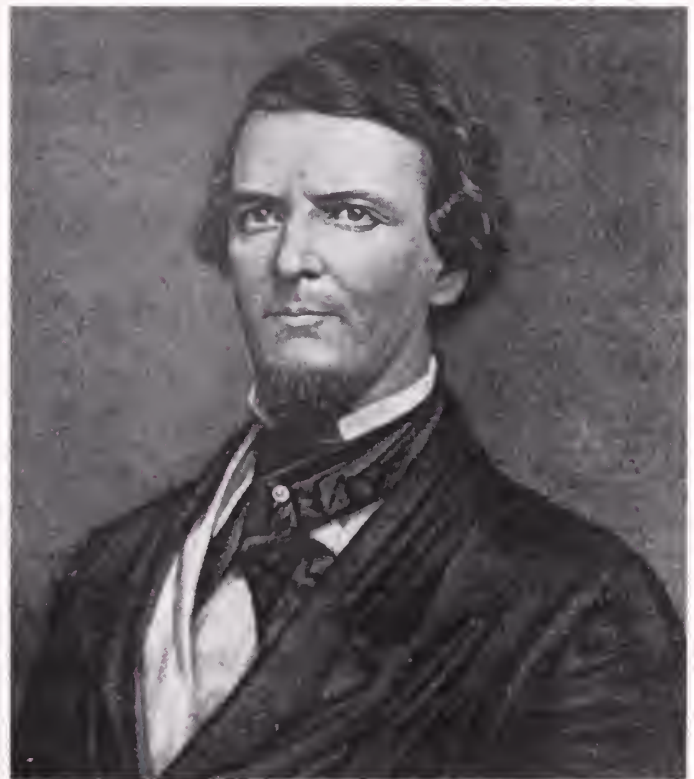
In his book, *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War*, Professor David Donald of Princeton carefully reconstructed Brooks' attack in detail:

"Operating, as he thought, 'under the highest sense of duty,' he approached the front of the desk where Sumner still sat behind a large pile of documents, 'writing very rapidly, with his head very close to the desk,' his armchair drawn up close and his legs entirely under the desk. With cool self-possession and formal politeness, Brooks addressed him: 'Mr. Sumner.'

"Sumner did not get up, but merely raised his head to identify his visitor. Nearsightedness, for which he was too vain to wear glasses, made the figure before him indistinct, but perfect vision would not have warned him, as he did not know Brooks by sight.

"I have read your speech twice over carefully,' Brooks began in a low voice. 'It is a libel on South Carolina and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine...' As Sumner seemed about to rise, Brooks interrupted himself to give Sumner 'a slight blow' with the smaller end of his cane. Stunned, Sumner instinctively threw out his arms to protect his head, and Brooks felt 'compelled to strike him harder than he had intended.' He began to rain down blows, and, he boasted: 'Every lick went where I intended.' In the excitement, Brooks forgot that he had set out only to flog Sumner, and began to strike him on the head 'as hard as he could.'

"Dazed by the first blow, Sumner of course could not



Preston S. Brooks



SOUTHERN CHIVALRY — ARGUMENT VERSUS CLUB'S.

This portrayal of the attack clearly sympathizes with Sumner. He is pictured as an idealistic poet in contrast with the savagery of his assailant. In the background, Southerners watch with grins.

remember that in order to rise from his desk, which was bolted to the floor by an iron plate and heavy screws, he had to push back his chair, which was on rollers. Perhaps a half dozen blows fell on his head and shoulders while he was still pinioned. Eyes blinded with blood, 'almost unconsciously, acting under the instinct of self-defense,' he then made a mighty effort to rise, and, with the pressure of his thighs, ripped the desk from the floor. Staggering forward, he now offered an even better target for Brooks, who, avoiding Sumner's outstretched arms, beat down 'to the full extent of his power.' So heavy were his blows that the gutta-percha cane, which he had carefully selected because he 'fancied it would not break,' snapped, but, with the portion remaining in his hand, he continued to pour on rapid blows...As soon as Sumner was free from the desk, he moved blindly 'down the narrow passage-way, under the impetuous drive of his adversary, with his hands uplifted.'

"As 'Brooks continued his blows rapidly with the part of the stick he held in his hands,' Sumner lost consciousness and 'was reeling around against the seats, backwards and forwards.' 'His whole manner seemed...like a person in convulsions; his arms were thrown around as if unconsciously.' Knocking over another desk...he seemed about to fall when Brooks reached out and with one hand held Sumner up by the lapel of his coat while he continued to strike him with the other. By this time the cane had shiv-

ered to pieces. Sumner, 'entirely insensible' and 'reeling and staggering about,' was about to fall in the aisle. 'I...gave him about thirty first rate stripes,' Brooks summarized. '...I wore my cane out completely but saved the head which is gold.'

The beating had taken less than one minute.

Finally an elderly Whig senator from Kentucky admonished Brooks, "Don't kill him." There was a brief fuss on the Senate floor as Southern senators prevented Northern senators from intervening. Soon Southerners led Brooks off the floor while Northerners provided Sumner with first aid. Blood poured down his face, splattering on his coat, vest and trousers. As he fell into a dazed sleep, he murmured, "I could not believe that a thing like this was possible."

News of the assault rapidly spread through the country.

While the North reacted with shock and outrage, the South expressed its delight. Professor Donald collected samples—not of speeches by Republican politicians—but of letters mailed to Sumner by ordinary citizens. "The instant Papa told me it seemed exactly as if a great, black cloud was spread over the sky," wrote a maiden from Massachusetts. "We are in great indignation here," a Connecticut schoolgirl stated, "I don't think it is of very much use to stay any longer in High School, as the boys would better be learning to hold muskets, and the girls to make bullets." A German citizen from Chicago wrote to

Sumner, "The news of the most foul, most damnable and dastardly attack...perfectly overwhelmed me with indignation and rage."

In the South, however, the previously obscure Congressman Brooks was hailed as a hero. On May 24, his constituents held a rally and raised money to present their congressman with a "handsome gold headed cane" to replace the one broken over Sumner. Merchants in Charleston, South Carolina also bought a ceremonial cane for Brooks and had it inscribed, "Hit him again." In the state capitol, the governor of South Carolina was the first to donate to a fund to buy Brooks "a splendid silver pitcher, goblet and stick." Even that state's black slaves were expected to donate toward Brooks' recognition.

Praise for Brooks was not limited to his home state. At the University of Virginia, students voted to send Brooks a cane with "a heavy gold head, which will be suitably inscribed, and also bear upon it a device of the human head, badly cracked and broken." Brooks also received letters from ordinary citizens like Braxton Bragg of Louisiana, who wrote, "You can reach the sensibilities of such dogs only through...their heads and a big stick."

Anti-slavery forces cited the attack as the inevitable result of a society based on the coercive force needed to maintain slavery. Abolitionists claimed that the coarsening effects of man enslaving his fellow man created a social structure in which violence became an accepted part of daily life. Pro-slavery forces applauded Brooks as demonstrating the way to respond to abolitionists. "These vulgar abolitionists in the Senate," advised the *Richmond Enquirer*, "must be lashed into submission. Sumner, in

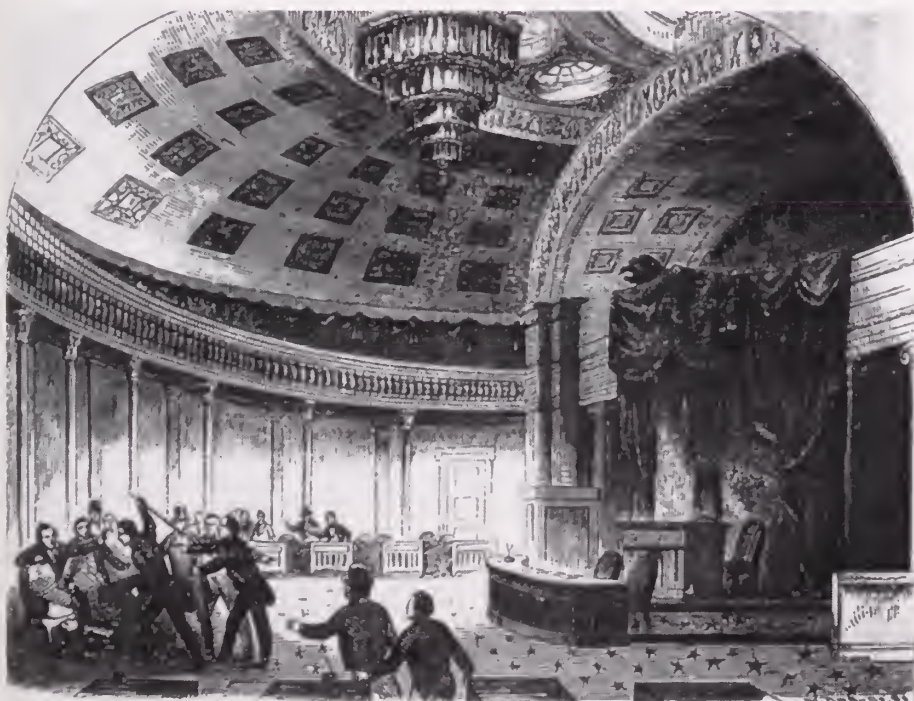
particular, ought to have nine-and-thirty early every morning." Another Virginia paper expressed admiration for "the classical caning which this outrageous Abolitionist received...at the hands of the chivalrous Brooks."

The Senate, in Democratic hands, took no action regarding the attack on one of its members. The House of Representatives, in Republican hands, launched an aggressive investigation. Brooks resigned his seat and went back to his home district, placing himself before the voters. He easily won the special election and returned to the House in triumph.

His attack would haunt the nation for years. By almost spiritual coincidence, the day before Brooks had attacked Sumner, a band of pro-slavery raiders attacked the free-state town of Lawrence, Kansas. The Fall campaign would ring with Republican oratory about "Bleeding Kansas" and "Bleeding Sumner." An estimated million copies of the "Crime Against Kansas" speech would be distributed during the 1856 campaign.

Sumner drew votes for both president and vice president at the 1856 Republican National Convention which wound up nominating a ticket of John Charles Fremont and William Dayton. Though the Republicans fell short of outright victory, the 1856 election confirmed them as the opposition party, eliminating the old Whig and new Know-Nothing parties. In the very next election the Republicans would win the White House when Abraham Lincoln became president and the Union split asunder.

Sumner himself would win an easy re-election in the Fall



This engraving emphasizes the fact that the attack occurred on the Senate floor. The gold handle pictured to the right topped the cane used by Brooks during his assault.



" CHILDREN CRY FOR IT"
U.S.G. "IF YOU CAN TAKE IT I CAN."

million of your fellow-citizens in whose hearts your speech finds an echo." By the time the 1860 campaign was in full swing, party leaders were mailing out copies of the "Barbarism of Slavery" speech as campaign literature and asking Sumner to campaign across the North.

Sumner campaigned only in his home state, however, where he orchestrated a Republican triumph that produced landslide victories for Lincoln as well as Sumner's hand-picked candidate for governor. Once Lincoln took office, Sumner supported him while still pushing the president to speed up Black emancipation and full citizenship. Even as the Civil War raged, Sumner was a constant force for Black empowerment. Typical of Sumner's actions was his arrangement for the first passport to be issued to a Black American, knowing it was an implicit recognition of citizenship at a time when Americans of African ancestry were legally classified as property. The day Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation, he invited Sumner to the White House to read it before it became public. It was no surprise that the first Black regiment in the Union Army was from Sumner's home state; the Massachusetts Fifty-fourth (the famous "Shaw Guard" that proved its heroism at the Battle of Fort Wagner).

Throughout the postwar and Reconstruction era, Sumner consistently battled for full rights for Black Americans. He broke with President Andrew Johnson and pushed key amendments to the Constitution guaranteeing Black rights. Johnson's successor, war hero U.S. Grant, found that Sumner opposed his candidacy for the

Republican nomination in 1868 and endorsed Horace Greeley when Grant ran for re-election in 1872. In the interim, Sumner remarried, divorced and won re-election to third and fourth terms.

When Charles Sumner died—still a member of the Senate—on March 11, 1874, African American residents of the District of Columbia gathered outside his house. As a procession assembled to carry his body to the Capitol for services, the official Congressional delegation was quietly superseded at the head of the procession by Black mourners. His coffin was guarded by soldiers from the all-Black Shaw Guard.

When the body was escorted to the cemetery, the funeral procession was headed by the Vice President, the Massachusetts congressional delegation, the governor of that state, the mayor of Boston, the president and board of Harvard University, and two thousand representatives of Black fraternal organizations. Pallbearers included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Greenleaf Whittier and Charles Francis Adams.

The funeral procession caused a gigantic traffic snarl. As she watched the turmoil surrounding Sumner even at this final moment, his divorced wife looked down at the coffin and said, "That is just like Charles; he never did show tact."★



WILL ROBINSON CRUSOE (SUMNER) FORSAKE HIS MAN FRIDAY?
The boat's crew that is going over

THOMAS NAST AND CHARLES SUMNER

By Michael Kelly

Thomas Nast remains to this day the most powerful political cartoonist to have ever covered American politics. His pen first created the donkey and elephant that now symbolize our two major parties. In his heyday, he corresponded and dined with presidents and was a hero to Republicans across the nation. His cartoons of Andrew Johnson, U.S. Grant, Grover Cleveland and James Blaine (not to mention New York City's notorious William "Boss" Tweed) remain the most expressive vehicles for historians wishing to teach the story of the Republic's politics in the mid-to-late 19th century.

Nast's original attitude towards Charles Sumner was most admiring. Typical of his early representation of the Massachusetts Senator was a cartoon portraying President Andrew Johnson as a tyrannical monarch ordering a long line of abolitionist leaders to be beheaded. At the front of the line was Charles Sumner; far to the back of that same line was Thomas Nast himself. But when Sumner broke with President Grant during the 1872 Liberal Republican revolt that created the candidacy of Horace Greeley, Nast turned the sharp point of his pen on his old hero.

Sumner's stature was so strong that Nast's publisher pleaded with him to spare the old warrior from his sharp caricatures. "He is my dear friend, a man whose services to the country and to civilization have been immense, who deserves all honor and regard from all honorable

men," the publisher wrote his employee, "Such a man may be criticized in writing, because in writing perfect respect may be preserved. But it is not so with the caricaturing pencil...grant my request that you will not introduce Mr. Sumner in any way into any picture."

Nast, however, stood his ground, and slashed at Sumner with his pen. Sumner was portrayed as a stony Jupiter, as a wavering Robinson Crusoe abandoning his faithful man Friday, joining Greeley in urging African Americans to take the hand of the Ku Klux Klan in friendship, and as a conspirator planning the assassination of Caesar. Nast's cartoons may have been part of the reason why Sumner abandoned the 1872 campaign and took a trip to Europe as the battle grew hot.

The last Thomas Nast cartoon pictured in this issue of The Keynoter appeared shortly after Sumner's death. It portrays a sorrowful Grant and Hamilton Fish walking away from Sumner's grave while "the Liberal Republican scandal press" releases the text of an anti-Grant speech written by Sumner but never delivered. Interestingly, in 1884 Nast himself bolted the Republican ticket because of the corruption of GOP nominee James G. Blaine. It is not recorded whether Nast ever pondered his harshness towards Sumner's opposition to a corrupt Grant in light of Nast's own opposition to a corrupt Blaine.★



Sumner's decision to support the Liberal Republican revolt of 1872 brought him the hostility of Thomas Nast. Here Horace Greeley and Sumner urge a former slave to forgive the racists that killed his wife and children. Note Nast's frequently used anti-Irish figure on the far left.



Top: Nast portrays Sumner as the god Jupiter. Lower left: Nast pictures Sumner frightening women and children at the approach of Grant. Lower right: an unusual Greeley ribbon.





A handsome array of Greeley and Grant campaign items from Theodore Hake's *Encyclopedia of Political Buttons*.



THE "LIBERAL" CONSPIRATORS (WHO YOU ALL KNOW ARE HONORABLE MEN)

"O LET US HAVE HIM; FOR HIS SILVER HAIR
WILL PURCHASE US A GOOD OPINION
AND BUT MEN'S VOICES TO COMMEND OUR DEEDS

IT SHALL BE SAID HIS JUDGEMENT RUL'D OUR HANDS
OUR YOUTHS, AND WILDNESS, SHALL NO WHIT APPEAR
BUT ALL BE BURIED IN HIS GRAVITY"—JULIUS CAESAR.

THE DISAFFECTED SENATORS—SCHURZ, FENTON, TRUMBULL, SUMNER, AND TIPTON— CONSIDER THE SELECTION OF MR. GREELEY
AS THEIR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.



ROBBING THE GRAVE, AND SHIELDING THEMSELVES BEHIND THE TOMBSTONE.

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SELFISHNESS,
RUTHLESSNESS,
CUPIDITY,
Robert H. Hemphill

THE MILLION
LEAGUE

The Brazen Serpent

In the most brazen act of his brazen career, John L. Lewis recently took over the office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

From this office, the dictator of 3,000,000 C.I.O. members undertook to lobby for passage of amendments to the Walsh Healey bill, sponsored by the C.I.O. (see editorial).

Lewis turned over half a million dollars of union wages to the Democratic party in 1936. Month after month he has used this slush money as a political club to bludgeon his way to one-man rule of the C.I.O.

Lewis is only secondarily a labor leader. First, he is a most brazen politician. He is a politician who will skip over democratic processes, regulations and safeguards to work his selfish ends. He is ruthless. His lobby act conducted in the Speaker's office is unprecedented. It is inexcusable. It is dangerous!

John L. Lewis, as far as it can be ascertained, is not a Communist. But he is more dangerous than the most rabid Communist. For, in his position of power, he has given his benediction to Communists in his own ranks. He has invited them into the C.I.O. to gnaw their way, rodent-like, into places of trust; into positions of dominance.

John L. Lewis has done more than any other individual to hand the labor movement in America over to the Communist party. He is clapping the shackles of Moscow's dictatorship onto the limbs of labor.

American labor needs unionism, badly. But it needs Christian unionism. American labor cannot afford to join or support the Communist-dominated, politically manipulated C.I.O.

JOHN L. LEWIS

